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ABSTRACT

The Republic of South Africa has devised a comprehensive system of education, conceptualized and controlled by the country's Whites, which is designed to develop the large African majority along lines deemed to serve the best interests of the White majority. It has been in existence since 1954 and spans the entire curriculum from first grade through university. There are virtually no alternatives unless the African undertakes study by correspondence or physically leaves the country, which is rarely permitted by the government. In describing the entire system most attention has been given to implicit and explicit educational objectives and to the instruments of control to enforce conformity to the education system by children, teachers, and parents. Compensating for the lack of detailed curriculum information, material on legal and procedural controls indicates that the South African Government views Bantu Education as a vital instrument for sustaining the present political, economic and social system. (Author/JH)

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SCHOOLING FOR SERVITUDE

Some Aspects of South Africa's Bantu Education System

E. Jefferson Murphy

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CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	1
Introduction: The South African Background.	2
Education for Africans before 1954.	10
Bantu Education: Concepts and Implementation. . . .	14
Bantu Education: Enrollments and Curriculum	23
The Maintenance of Government Control	30
Conclusion and Interpretation	35
A Selected Bibliography	38

SCHOOLING FOR SERVITUDE

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Preface

The Republic of South Africa has devised a comprehensive system of education, conceptualized and controlled by the country's Whites, which is designed to develop the large African majority along lines deemed to serve the best interests of the White minority. It has been in existence since 1954, and spans the entire curriculum from first grade through university. There is virtually no alternative form of education available to an African unless he studies wholly by correspondence, or physically leaves the country. The latter alternative is rarely permitted by the South African Government; those who leave often do so illegally.

This paper is chiefly a description of the entire system, with slightly more intensive attention to its implicit and explicit objectives, and the instruments of control developed by the Government to enforce conformity to the educational system by children, teachers, and parents. Such a broad scope inevitably requires a degree of superficiality in a short paper. Compensating partially for the lack of detailed curriculum description, however, is the interesting material available on legal and procedural controls, which makes it abundantly clear

that the South African Government views Bantu Education as a vital instrument for sustaining or even expanding the present political, economic, and social impotence of the African majority.

Introduction: The South African Background

The Republic (formerly Union) of South Africa, occupying some 472,359 square miles of the southern tip of the African continent, has a total population of almost 20,000,000, comprised of the following ethnic-racial groups:

Africans (Bantu language speakers):	14,600,000
Europeans (Dutch and English descended):	3,300,000
Coloureds (Mixed racially):	1,500,000
Asians (chiefly from India):	600,000

Of these four population groups, the African majority are the aboriginal occupants of the country, having established themselves in most of the present territory prior to the 1500's, and having settled the northern area well before 1000 A.D. Distantly related in race, language, and culture to the African populations of West and Central Africa, the Bantu-speaking Africans today cover virtually all of Africa south of the equator, as well as the Republic. Over this vast territory they manifest obvious traits of cultural and linguistic kinship, despite being divided into more than 300 "tribes", or language groups. At least as early as the time of Christ the Bantu-speaking peoples developed a complex technology, including numerous varieties of agriculture, herding cattle and other animals, manufacturing cloth from cotton, hair, and bark, and mining and working several metals -- iron, copper, gold, and tin being the most important.

The Europeans are divided into two "tribes." The Afrikaners, descended from the original Dutch settlers but incorporating French Hugenots, Germans, Scots, and Irish, compose some 60% of the white population. The English, descended from British settlers and speaking English as a mother tongue (the Afrikaners speak Afrikaans, an evolved language based on Dutch), make up the remaining 40%. Although the original Dutch settlers began arriving in the mid-17th century, the largest influx of White settlers was during the 19th century.

The Coloureds are a hybrid group that was formed originally by Dutch-Hoftentot marriages or illicit matings, but has absorbed numerous Malays and Africans over the centuries. Largely concentrated in the Cape Province, many of the Coloureds speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue, belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, and share some cultural affinities with the Afrikaners. But they have a distinctive ethnic sense of identify, recognizing themselves as a separate group with its own culture.

The Asians are concentrated mainly in the province of Natal, where they came during the latter half of the 19th century to work on sugarcane plantations, to serve as labor on railroads, and to work on European farms. Although many have developed garden farming as independent farmers, the majority have settled in Durban and other cities as a class of small businessmen, professionals, semi-skilled workers, or clerks.

Because South Africa includes several areas of substantial fertility and great mineral resources, an economy has developed which is basically modern and European in character. During

the 19th century large amounts of capital flowed in from Europe and America to exploit the deposits of diamonds and gold. However, the White settlers were able to build up a process by which they were able to amass capital as well. Yet all aspects of the economy have traditionally been based on cheap labor; only recently have labor intensive manufacturing developments occurred. More than two thirds of the African population, and virtually all the Coloured and Asian peoples, are involved full or part time in the economy that is controlled by Europeans.

European settlers established their control of South Africa, in the first instance, through military conquest. During the 16th and 17th centuries wars and other conflicts between Dutch and Hottentot enabled the Dutch, with their superior military technology and skills, to settle all of the Hottentot lands. The result was the almost total extinction of the Hottentots as a peoples. Today their genetic characteristics survive in the Coloured and some African groups, but their language is dead.

Military conflict between Europeans and Africans of the Bantu language group began in the early 18th century, on a substantial scale, and it continued with few periods of peace until the 20th century. Although the large numbers and more advanced military technology of the Africans were sufficient to prevent annihilation, they could not prevent European occupation of the most fertile lands. Today the lands occupied by Africans comprise roughly 13% of the country's territory, and in general these are the most arid and least fertile portions.

With the European conquest and occupation of the better lands, Africans were gradually forced into an economically depressed condition, which was worsened by their being required to pay taxes in cash. The result has been that nearly two-thirds of the African population lives around European cities and on European farms. Even the third living on African lands is impoverished, and must export labor to the mines and other parts of the White dominated economy in order to survive.

In order for the White minority to perpetuate this situation, rigid patterns of social segregation and political exclusiveness have been developed. Even during the most liberal and expansive periods of South African history, Africans have been permitted little opportunity to compete with the Whites in the economic and political life of the country. Since the 1920's, however, as the White economy and society have grown into their modern burgeoning condition, there has been a progressive development of legislation and institutions of control which have gradually removed the few opportunities for African entry into the White arena that previously existed.

This progressive development of White control took a vivid form in 1948, and subsequently, when the National Party came to power. In that year the National Party, which appeals almost entirely to Afrikaner voters, won a narrow majority in Parliament, and began to devise laws and ordinances which first of all expanded its majority in Parliament and the Senate, and secondly allowed it a comprehensiveness of political and legal control of the country greater than any ever before devised.

The Afrikaner people tend to be poorer, more rural, more isolationist and conservative, and, if anything, more apprehensive of African advancement than the British settlers. Further, they have never lost their sense of resentment at their defeat in the Anglo-Boer War, and the many years of British political domination of the country. Once their political party came to power, they moved rapidly and aggressively to capitalize on the long-awaited opportunity. (Africans have not been the sole objects of their use of this power; British language, culture, and political ideas have been dislodged from their former dominance over Afrikaans, and the rank and file of the English speaking people have become a slightly anxious minority politically and culturally. Despite this, however, the main thrust of National Party actions after 1948 was to entrench White privilege and position, especially against possible Black African challenge).

Apartheid, the Afrikaans word used popularly by the National Party, has come to symbolize, in world thinking, South Africa's new policy of racial segregation and discrimination. All students of South African affairs, however, are agreed that apartheid is little different from the earlier policies of segregation, save in its conscious, comprehensive conceptualization, through which the tiny loopholes of Black personal achievement that had previously existed were plugged. In recent years South Africans have begun to deemphasize the word apartheid, and have widely adopted the newer concept of separate development. Separate development is a natural outgrowth of early segregation and more recent apartheid; it has a dynamic quality which implies

planned development of the African people toward a permanent acceptance of apartheid.

Separate development begins with the existence of four main and purportedly unmixable racial elements in the South African population, each with its own culture, language, attitudes, and interests. The large African group is in turn alleged to be comprised of eight identifiable units (the "tribes"): the Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu. The prevailing European theology holds that these groups were created by God to be and remain different. Contemporary intellectual and political spokesmen among the Europeans maintain that the existing differences and life-styles of these groups are too great to permit comfortable co-existence within a flexible, liberal state without increasing racial conflict and sooner or later the destruction of White civilization by the less civilized majority. The Nationalists' policy of separate development will, according to its protagonists, safeguard White interests, prevent any increase in racial conflict, and permit the gradual evolution of the African groups along their unique, God-given cultural lines. The Africans are to be concentrated in "homelands" within the Republic, which, in the indefinite future, may develop into quasi-independent states.

The position is typically stated by Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, the former Prime Minister:

> "Throughout history the creation of states has brought with it contentment.... It is as unlikely... to hold together the Whites and the Bantu in peace...

> in one multi-racial unit as it is to throw together Xhosa, Basuto, and Zulu without conflict into one communal entity."

If the more benignly stated purposes of separate development (the provision of homelands, self-government, and assisted economic development to the African peoples) are genuine (which is dubious), one major obstacle looms at the outset: the African "homelands" at present number 260, most being tiny patches of land, a few square miles in extent, surrounded by European farming country. Only the Xhosa (in the Transkei-Ciskei area), the Zulu, and the Venda have significant blocks of territory, and even their lands are hopelessly overcrowded, eroded, and lacking in resources. Most African critics of the separate development concept, recognizing the inadequacy of African land holdings and knowing how utterly dependent upon African labor European industry is, regard the homeland idea as referring more properly to population pens, in which African labor can be kept in austere pasturage during periods when they are not needed in the European economy.

Both the earlier static statement of apartheid and the later dynamic statement of separate development are multi-faceted: National Party thinkers and politicians have created a state with near-total central government control over civic and political life. A large and well-trained force of police and army has been transformed into a highly effective instrument of law enforcement. Numerous laws restricting speech, the press, assembly, labor unions, political parties, and population movement have been introduced and passed in Parliament. Many of

these laws give individual Cabinet Ministers unlimited power to arrest, detain, and restrict citizens who are believed to be capable of unacceptable action; it is not even necessary to wait until illegal actions have been performed.

This rigorous pattern of central control has been used freely to stifle effective dissent, both among Whites and Africans, although in the case of Whites the Government has been, to date, careful to act primarily against minority political elements -- the National Party has shown considerable political sagacity in stopping short of offending the large core of White voters, English or Afrikaans, who appreciate toughness so long as it is directed at Non-whites or the radical fringe. Where Africans are concerned, however, only a tiny minority of White voters, normally less than 10%, have indicated any real reservation about the totalitarian actions taken to control the Black population. (Presumably, but by no means certainly, the White electorate would refuse to accept "final solutions" on the Nazi Germany model, but they have raised only minority dissent at the expansion of other techniques that show much in common with Hitler's regime).

Eighteen years of National Party implementation of its policies of separate development and prevention of effective dissent has driven underground, or into exile, all African leaders who are not in prison. Several thousand liberal and radical Whites have suffered the same fate. Token White liberal opposition has been allowed to continue, but apparently only to the extent that the Government believes it offers no serious threat.

As of 1972 the National Government seems unshakably entrenched in power, with no real opposition allowed to operate, except for White parties that command sizeable followings and share the basic objective of continued White domination.

In the implementation of separate development, the National Government has given significant attention to a complete reorientation of the system of education in the country, especially the education of Africans. Thus it is that the system of Bantu Education was planned and introduced, as an integral part of the Government's total effort to entrench White power and position.

Education for Africans Before 1954

Just as the terms apartheid and separate development replaced the term segregation as a description of racial policy, so the term Bantu education has replaced Native education. In South Africa's White community, Africans were at one time called "Kaffirs," a term which carried the contemptuous affect of the American term "nigger." Eventually it was replaced by the less abusive term "native," which is still widely used among English speaking Whites. But the Boers, whose name for themselves is Afrikaners (Africans), drew the line at using the term African for the indigenous inhabitants of the country. Instead, they developed, at least in the more dignified circles of church, school, and government, the term "Bantu," which is properly the name of a group of African languages. (It comes originally from the root "ntu," for person, and the plural prefix "ba"). Africans themselves would rarely term themselves Bantu; they would either

distinquish their ethnic membership, such as Xhosa or Zulu, or simply refer to themselves as Africans. They have developed extensive resentment of the White use of both Bantu and Native, regarding both terms as condescending and linked with European attitudes of superiority.

Bantu Education, once conceptualized and enacted into law, represented a generally sharper break with previous practice than did other forms of White action toward Black. This would seem to derive from the fact that the Government expects it, over a period of years, to re-train the minds of young Africans into channels of submission and away from thoughts of coveting White position and privilege.

Prior to 1953 (when the Bantu Education Act was passed) there was little uniformity in the education for African children, since each of the four provinces had ultimate authority and the central government had none. Further, many schools for Africans were private schools, generally managed by churches and missions, and the provinces tended to allow a degree of freedom within which the private schools could operate. On the whole, however, the education obtained by most African children was modeled on that provided for Europeans, especially at secondary and university level.

African education consisted of a 13 year pre-college curriculum. Primary school included Substandard A, Substandard B, and Standards 1 and 2. Often the next four standards (grades), 3 through 6, were considered an extension of primary school, although they were also, in some areas, grouped into a middle school. Secondary schooling was separately organized, and

and consisted of Forms I through V.

Each province evolved a separate curriculum, or syllabus, for African primary education, but that in secondary school was generally the same as that for European students.

At university level, there was one private institution for Non-white students: the University College of Fort Hare (formerly the South African Native College), founded in 1926. Although autonomous in many respects, Fort Hare's degrees were granted by nearby Rhodes University, an older White institution. Support for Fort Hare came from the Government, the provinces, several churches, and private individuals and trusts, as well as from tuition fees. Cape Town, Witwatersrand, and Natal, three of the White South African universities, admitted a limited number of African students: although at the latter Africans attended separate classes.

The financing of African education came from a variety of sources. The national government made an annual contribution to the provinces, which came from both general revenues and taxes paid by Africans. Provincial revenues also provided a portion of costs. At all institutions in which churches and missions had a role they provided a measure of additional support. And tuition was almost universal, even at primary school level. Even at the low levels tuition generally represented (sometimes as little as the equivalent of $20 or $20 per year) it was a considerable burden on African parents, who were paying for the education of their children both directly through tuition and indirectly through taxes.

As a general rule African schools were managed or supervised by boards or governmental bodies on which few Africans sat; those boards with African members almost universally maintained a White majority. African parents, therefore, were little connected with the schools attended by their children, despite a pervasive interest in education on the part of virtually all Africans. Psychologically the situation was one in which Whites, of superior standing and culture, provided schooling for Africans, along White lines, and it was not expected that African parents need have any voice in the process, except in cases where the parents were themselves well educated and perhaps employed at or near the school.

Quantitatively Africans lagged far behind South Africa's White children in education. In 1953 some 41% of African children of school age were enrolled in schools, but more than 90% of this number were in primary classes. Historically there has been a tremendous drop-out rate between the third and eighth years of school (Standard I to Standard VI), so that few of the African children in school in 1953 would have remained in school for more than perhaps four years. In 1953, for example, roughly 3.5% of the 900,000 Africans in school were in post-primary classes, making a total of about 31,000 between Forms I and V. In higher education, there were just over 1,000 in university courses: 555 taking correspondence courses from the University of South Africa; 300 at Fort Hare; and about 200 at Natal, Witwatersrand, and Cape Town.

Unimpressive though these figures may be, they indicate that a tiny trickle of African students were able to move into secondary schools and even into universities, there to study the same courses and qualify for the same certificates and degrees as White students. To the extent that African political movements have been successful in South Africa's recent history, their leadership has been drawn in large measure from the products of this trickle: from teachers, lawyers, doctors, church ministers, and others who had completed either secondary school or university. National Party spokesmen, especially after coming to power in 1948, have singled out these few well educated and vocal Africans for both persecution and as examples of the dangers of permitting Africans to follow White lines of educational development. One of the key objectives of Bantu Education, as will be noted below, has been to keep Africans physically separate from Whites in schools at any level, to direct them into curricula which will lessen their desire to compete in the White world, and to control their numbers so that they will be trained for employment in African areas.

Bantu Education: Concepts and Implementation

One of the first acts of the National Government was to appoint, in January, 1949, a commission of study under the chairmanship of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, a prominent educator and member of the Party, to study "Native Education." Its terms of reference indicate the concerns of Afrikaner policy planners:

(a) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under everchanging social conditions are taken into consideration.

(b) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary, and vocational education system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of the syllabuses in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.

(c) The organization and administration of the various branches of Native Education.

(d) The basis on which such education should be financed.

(e) Such other aspects of Native education as may be related to the preceding.

Of these terms of reference, (a) clearly embodies the Afrikaner belief in the fundamental separateness of peoples by race, while (b) just as clearly foreshadows the intent to reshape African education according to European ideas of the needs of developing African culture and the requirements of the White controlled economy.

The Eiselen Commission reported its findings and recommendations in 1951, and launched a series of public and parliamentary debates which culminated in the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was broadened by amendments in 1954, 1956, 1959, 1961, and 1964. While acknowledging that all the Africans from whom it had taken evidence expressed "an extreme aversion to any education specially adapted for the Bantu," the Eiselen Commission concluded that "Educational practice must recognize that it has to deal with a Bantu child, that is, a child trained and conditioned in Bantu

culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language, and imbued with values, interests and behavior patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother." It recommended that a specially designed system of Bantu education be developed (according to principles suggested by the Commission, but to be spelled out in more detail, pragmatically, by White educationists who would control the system) and that it be an integral part of a carefully planned policy of socio-economic development for the Bantu peoples.

Positive implementation of the 1953 Bantu Education Act began in 1954, after the Government felt that it had allowed the Act's opponents ample time to express their criticisms. The criticisms arose in a crescendo from Africans, church leaders, liberals, outside observers, most educators, (and even from many Afrikaners who feared the Act was designed to improve African education!), but had virtually no influence on the passage or later implementation of the legislation. A review of the steadfastness which the National Party exhibited in guiding the legislation through Parliament, and in subsequent implementation, makes it plain that there was a deeply felt sense of purpose that had originated long before the appointment of the Eiselen Commission and the later acts. (This paper will not review this process, but the data on controls set forth below attest to its methodical nature).

A revealing and interesting statement of the special Afrikaner philosophy of "Christian National Education," which obviously influenced the members of the Eiselen Commission and later helped to shape Bantu Education, was made in 1948 by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kulturverenigings, an association of Afrikaans

religious, cultural, and political associations:

> We believe that the vocation and task of white South Africa with respect to the Native is to christianize him and to help him on culturally, and that this vocation and task has already found its immediate application in the principle of trusteeship, in not placing the Native on a level with the white, and in segregation. For this reason we believe that any system of teaching and educating Natives should be based upon these principles. In accordance with these principles we believe that the teaching and education of the Native must be based on the European's attitude to life and to the world, more particularly that of the Boer nation (Afrikaner people) as the senior European trustee of the Native; and that the Native should be led, mutatis mutandis, to an acceptance of the Christian and national principles in education... The financing of Native education must be placed on such a basis that it is not provided at the cost of European education.

The liberal view of education for Africans, put forward with some vigor by missions and church educators during the debates over the Eiselen Commission report and the Bantu Education Act, is well stated by a letter from the Natal Native Education Advisory Board, sent in 1952 to the Natal Director of Education. This Board stated that it was unable

> ...to accept the terms on which the Commissioners were required to make their report. We as a Board do not regard the Bantu in South Africa as an independent race. We consider that they are not now, nor are they ever likely to be, independent of the rest of South Africa, either culturally, socially, economically or politically...We believe that in South Africa we have a multi-racial society and that an attempt to divide the country into racial groups developing along different lines is unsound and therefore impracticable, and that any attempt to implement such a programme must inevitable fail. We as a Board, therefore, feeling that the Report presupposes such a division of education into racial groups, find ourselves unable to support these recommendations of the Report.

The National Government listened with a certain patience to such statements of dissent, but found them unconvincing.

In fact, it was soon revealed (during 1955 and 1956) that it was Government's intention to force the church-mission educators out of the field of African education as rapidly as was consistent with political prudence. As early as 1953, the future pattern of action was clearly implied in a statement by the then Minister of Native Affairs (later Prime Minister), H.F. Verwoerd in which he revealed much of the Government's intention in regard to African education. (The underlined words, added by the author of this paper, reveal the Government attitude toward the churchmen who had traditionally dominated African education and who shared the views expressed by the Natal Board).

> Racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of frustrated people who, as a result of the education they have received, have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled immediately, when it creates people who are trained for professions not open to them, when there are people who have received a form of cultural training which strengthens their desire for white-collar occupations to such an extent that there are more such people than openings available. Therefore, good racial relations are spoilt when the correct education is not given. Above all, good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality, if, let me say, for example, a Communist gives this training to the Natives. Such a person will, by the very nature of the education he gives, both as regards the content of that education and as regards its spirit, create expectations in the minds of the Bantu which clash with the possibilities in this country. It is therefore necessary that Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State.

After passage of the Act in 1953, the Government began its implementation in earnest, early in 1954. The Act provided for

three types of schools: (1) schools operated under the auspices of Bantu Authorities; (2) schools operated directly by the Government; and (3) private schools registered by Government and operated under close Government supervision. The chief officers of Government frequently stated that they regarded the first and second types as the most important, and the types which should grow ever stronger, to the point where schools of the third type would become unnecessary.

Schools of the first type, operated under Bantu Authorities, were to be located in Bantu homelands; in the Transkei, for example, which was the first "Bantustan" to be organized and set on the path of limited self-government by its African population, virtually all schools were to be placed under the control of the Transkeian Territorial Authority. Each school was to have an advisory board, composed of African parents and members of the community, who were nominated by the local authority (the appointed chief) and approved by the Minister of Bantu Education or his delegate (usually the civil service Secretary of Bantu Education or one of his deputies--all White).

At first glance the emphasis on schools of this type seemed to be a major step toward community control, and the making of schools that were relevantly part of the local community. In actual fact, White control was so pervasive that African influence has been severely restricted; as will be demonstrated later when instruments of control are examined, Africans have been placed in a position which virtually forces them to behave according to White dictates, rubber-stamping White control.

Chiefs, who are at the top of the territorial governing authorities, owe their power, position, and emoluments to the South African Government, and uncooperative chiefs can be and are removed. The Department of Bantu Education is empowered to set teacher conditions, to monitor activities in classrooms and board meetings, and to regulate student behavior. Parents on boards can be vetoed or removed without reasons specified.

The stress of this type of school, however, clearly is consistent with the larger Government policy of separate development and forcing the African population to accept the reality of designated territories as homelands. Dr. Verwoerd spelled this out clearly in 1954:

> My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will be called upon to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. (Underlining added). Within his own community, however, all doors are open.... In the Native territories where the services of educated Bantu are very much needed, Bantu education can complete its full cycle; the child being taken from the community into the school, developed to his fullest extent in accordance with his aptitudes and ability, and thereafter being returned to the community to serve and enrich it.

(African critics of both separate development and Bantu Education, armed with unassailable data on the economic situation--the complete lack of resources and capital for economic development of the "homelands" and the essentiality of African labor in the European economy--regard this statement as a classic illustration of the hypocricy of Government policy).

Schools of the second type are chiefly institutions for teacher training, vocational training, and higher education, which either serve specific needs of the economy, or cannot be financed through African funds, or require especially close Government control. The three universities for Africans which have been built or acquired, since 1954, fall into this category.

Schools of the third type include the mission and church schools, which numbered more than 4,000 in 1954, and which accounted for much of the post-primary education for Africans, and an interesting pattern of farm schools. The latter have typically been sponsored by large-scale White farmers, upon whose lands scores or even hundreds of African families may live and work. White farmers in isolated areas have found it profitable to provide lower primary schooling on the farm (usually with African parents paying fees), in order to stabilize the farm labor population and deter children from leaving; even young children can play a useful economic role on a large farm.

In the implementation of Bantu Education after 1954 the number of church sponsored schools rapidly declined, despite attempts by many church and liberal groups to maintain them. In 1956 the Act was amended to give the Minister greater powers, including unrestricted power to withhold registration from private schools without cause. Although, in 1953-54, the Government had, in parliamentary and public debate, implied that church schools could continue to operate, within government regulations, and receive some government financial assistance, Government began to move in 1955 and 1956 to eliminate them. By 1956

virtually no Government funds were made available to church schools, and most schools that were fully supported by churches were eventually refused licenses to operate. By 1961 the number of church schools had dropped from more than 4,000 to less than 700 (almost all Catholic), and in 1962 the Government announced further restrictions. By 1966 the number had dropped to 472, despite a massive Catholic campaign to raise funds, and further shrinkage was expected. (Although no figures were available, the author was informed by one South African educator that the number was less than 400 in 1971).

An examination of the developments in the farm school area makes it clear that the Government has not been opposed so much to privately sponsored education as to education sponsored by groups which do not accept the National policy of separate development. No South African church except the Dutch Reformed accepts separate development as a long range policy.

Farm schools seem to have been regarded benignly by Government for two reasons. First, White farmers are presumed to be relatively conservative and unlikely to disfavor Government racial policy. Second, more than a quarter of the African people live on or around European farms, which require cheap labor, and this seems to be a long-term need of the agricultural sector of the economy. Before 1954 there were few farm schools (estimates agree they numbered less than 1,000, mostly consisting of Substandards A and B, with occasional Standard I and II classes), but Government began to encourage them as a positive policy between 1956 and 1962. As a result the number rose from 1,400

schools enrolling 143,000 pupils in 1957 to 1,750 schools with 172,000 pupils in 1960, and to 2,696 schools with 239,600 pupils in 1967.

Although the Government encourages and financially assists farm schools, most are small and operate on modest budgets. Buildings are simple, usually being constructed by African women. Teachers receive low pay, and are often provided with housing and vegetable plots in lieu of higher salary. Farmers are allowed (even encouraged) to add an agricultural-vocational element to the curriculum by requiring children to perform farm work under teacher-farmer supervision; in 1959 the Minister of Bantu Education noted approvingly that this practice will create a sense of industriousness and teach that "education does not mean that you must not work with your hands."

Bantu Education: Enrollments and Curriculum

It has been a stated aim of Bantu Education that more children should receive an appropriate level and quality of education, in the general effort to assist the African community to progress along its own line of development. This has been touted by the National Party as proving the humanitarian character of Bantu Education, and statistics have been carefully kept to demonstrate the program's success.

Emphasis has been laid on primary education; the first four years have been deemed of first priority, the second four years of slightly lower but still substantial priority. In 1967 the Government revealed that it had more than doubled the number of

African children in school since 1955, from 1,005,774 in 1955 to 2,229,556 in 1967. As the following table indicates, the bulk of this increase, in absolute numbers, was in primary school, and especially in the first four grades. Yet interestingly enough the proportional increase was slightly greater for each succeeding higher level; the number of children in the first four grades was increased by a factor of 2.2, while that in Forms I-III was increased by 2.4, and that in Forms IV-V by 2.8.

Increases in School Enrollment, 1955-1967

	1955	1967
Sub A-Std.II	731,170	1,595,022
Std III-VI	239,069	549,034
Frm I-III	32,916	79,707
Frm IV-V	2,067	5,793
Totals	1,005,774	2,229,556

In the process of expanding the number of children in school, the Government was able to reduce the cost of educating each child: the cost was approximately $22.00 per child per year in 1955, and $17.36 in 1967. This was achieved in three ways, principally. First, many classes in the lower primary levels were double-scheduled, by having separate groups of children attend slightly shorter morning and afternoon sessions. Thus the same number of teachers was required to handle substantially more pupils. Second, salaries for teachers have been held relatively static since 1954; White teachers have won several large pay increases during the period, but Government argues that the African way of life requires much less money, and has been generally unwilling to give pay increases to Africans. Third,

Government has placed high priority on the training and employment of African women as teachers; in about 1950 the proportion of women African teachers was around 35%, while in 1967 it was roughly 60%. Government has set 75% as its goal. Women are willing to work for somewhat lower salaries than men. (And critics point out that men, being more physically mobile, are therefore freed to travel to the White areas to work on contracts and temporary jobs, thus serving the interests of the European sector of the economy.)

Enrollments in universities and higher training courses have increased, especially since 1959. In that year the Government moved to make it virtually impossible for Africans to study in White universities, and simultaneously took over Fort Hare and began building two new African university colleges. Consistently with the tenets of the separate development policy, these three African universities are operated by Government, led by White rectors and senior staff, and restricted to African students of certain ethnic groups. Xhosa students, and those of closely related groups, can study only at Fort Hare. Zulu and Swazi students must study at the University College of Zululand. And the University of the North caters for students of Tswana, Sotho, and Venda origin. (Since one of the deep fears of the Nationalist Government is the possibility of African nationalism united against White rule, it is clear that the ethnic university is designed to forestall unity movements by restricting contacts between intellectuals of differing ethnic origin.)

In curriculum the principles of separate development are manifest. One of the most emphasized, and criticized innovations has been the requirement that students study as long as practicable in their mother tongues, learning both English and Afrikaans later as foreign languages. In most schools the Bantu mother tongue (even for some Africans whose mother tongue is English!) of each Bantu group is used through Standard VI, and the Government has made it lcear that Bantu languages will eventually be used in secondary schools as books become available. Of all the features of Bantu Education, this has aroused greater reaction from the African community than any other. In 1956 the Federal Council of African Teachers' Associations issued a statement on the subject:

> The Bantu are a subject people in a multiracial and multilingual country, and they realize that many economic avenues will be forever shut to them if they fail to master fluency and accuracy in the speaking and writing of the official languages. They realize also that even if the ideal of the present Government of serving their people in their own areas should ever be attained in the near future, there would still be an urgent need for a masterly knowledge of the official languages...(Under compulsory mother tongue medium) the pupils would be cut off from the fundamental streams of Western culture and civilization...The endeavour should rather be that of broadening horizons by stimulating contact and communication, than a kraaling parochialism induced by a bewildering babel of localized dialects and languages.

An individual African educator of some prominence made the same points in an even broader framework: J. C. Mbatha said that

> The African strives desperately for unity, and is strongly opposed to any tendency to division among his people. The multiplicity of African languages has always been regarded as an impediment to unity. In an effort to overcome this, the African has accepted English as the lingua franca of the sub-continent,

> and is glad to see the disappearance of tribal barriers. To him, then, the retribalization of the schools and the emphasis it lays on the different vernaculars is a retrogressive step. A national awareness that is little appreciated by many has come over the African, and it is perhaps the greatest single reason for his objection to vernacular tuition. He feels he has a right to decide his own destiny. To the stranger, national consciousness and opposition to mother-tongue instruction may seem incompatible; to the African, in his present circumstances, there is nothing contradictory in it.

The African position was most succinctly summed up by the politically sophisticated African National Congress (long banned and illegal in South Africa) in a 1959 statement to the United Nations. Bantu Education's mother-tongue requirement, said Congress, proves that "under the guise of developing African languages, the Government is discouraging the teaching and use of English, so as to cut the African off from the world of culture and progress."

(As an interesting point of evidence, this writer had occasion, between 1961 and 1967, to administer the CEEB Scholastic Aptitude Test to more than 100 refugees from South Africa, resident in Tanzania. About one half had finished school studying entirely in English, while the other half had studied for at least part of their scholastic career under the mother-tongue requirement. The results of the two groups on the SAT differed dramatically: the Verbal scores for the former were nearly twice as high as those for the latter.)

A second innovation in Bantu Education was the balancing of the curriculum to provide for more vocationally useful subjects, especially agriculture and crafts, and to scale down the subjects

that were slanted toward university entrance and would presumably make African students unhappy and ill-adapted in the African environment. In the primary school this balancing process resulted in the introduction of "environmental studies," a combination of history, geography, and nature study that was concentrated on South Africa generally and on African ethnic areas specifically.

Ironically, and very sadly, this emphasis on local environment, which in other situations might be regarded as culturally sound, tends to present African culture and history with a distinct European bias. The section of the syllabus which deals with African history before White settlement, for example, is labeled "Turmoil among the South African Bantu Tribes" -- it is a favored myth among Whites that Africans were incessantly in conflict with each other before the "pax europeanica."

A third emphasis in the Bantu curriculum is on character building, especially in the area of vocational guidance. Three provisions from the vocational section of the social studies syllabus illustrate the White concept:

> 1. Emphasis should be placed on the manner of setting about obtaining employment; correct behaviour when employed; loyalty to the employer; the importance of punctuality, neatness, strict honesty, courtesy, modest demeanours, etc.
>
> 2. Stress should also be laid on the social and economic value of obtaining jobs near home, rather than at distant places. Distant employment involves heavy expenditure in travel and usually results in injudicious spending, whereas employment near the homes benefits the family and tends to build up family solidarity and pride.
>
> 3. Avenues of employment open to Bantu with Secondary School education and ways of setting about obtaining such employment.

It requires little analyses of these provisions to see the Afrikaner's conception of the role and demeanor to which even well-educated Africans ought to aspire. The second provision reflects the insistence of the proponents of separate development that Africans should work and reside in their "homelands." This insistence ignores the widely publicized inadequacy of the African territories to support the population, the fact that their lack of industrial development offers little hope of jobs other than teaching, and the essentiality of African labor in the White economy. This apparent contradiction is resolved by the fact that the separate development policy makes clear provision for large numbers of Africans working and living, but on a temporary basis in law, around the White cities.

Africans living in White urban areas are not allowed to own land, and are permitted residence in large suburban "locations" or townships only under carefully prescribed and supervised conditions: the chief condition is the holding of a job which the Government recognizes as being useful to the economy. Although there has been an expansion of primary schools for African children in the urban areas, the number of secondary schools has declined. Africans who are eligible for secondary education are encouraged to return to their homelands, often as boarding students--even if they and their parents were born outside the homeland and maintain no real ties with their ethnic kin. The institutions of higher education, with admission on ethnic lines, are located in isolated, rural areas, for the twin purposes of familiarizing Africans with their homeland environment and isolating

them from the diversions of urban social and political concerns. Additionally, critics note, the isolation of the higher institutions makes it easier to control student behavior.

One further characteristic of the Bantu schools is the installation of African advisory boards, replacing the earlier system of boards which had at least token African membership serving with liberal and church Whites. The African boards are composed of chiefs, territorial officials, and parents; the Government's stated aim is to use these boards to provide a more authentically African flavor to school functioning and to integrate school with community. Yet Government has been slow to grant the boards any power other than advisory, especially at post-primary level. The boards for universities, in fact, are still dual. All-White boards continue to govern, sharing their power with all-White faculty senates, while African boards and faculty senates meet separately and advise the former.

The Maintenance of Government Control

Bantu Education has been devised by White political leaders, accepted by the White electorate, and imposed on the African people despite clear recognition (see Eiselen admission, page 15) that Africans want strongly for their children to have the same educational opportunity as that provided for White children. Government has stated repeatedly and unequivocally that Bantu Education is, in its view, the only means for training African children to accept the inevitable division of South African into separate racial spheres of life; any other system, it maintains,

will lead to increasing racial tension and ultimately to more misery for the African people. As a solace, Government stresses that separate education is a prelude to separate development, which in turn will result in increased opportunity for Africans to behave and achieve in their own societies.

The firmness of Government's position was reflected in the vigor of the laws which have been passed to initiate and develop Bantu Education. The real test of Government's promise that it will progressively delegate power to Africans in their own areas has yet to come; while legislation allowing the Africanization of school boards, teaching staff, and ultimate control over African schools has been enacted, other legislation permits the indefinite continuation of Government supervision and control. It has now been 18 years since Bantu Education became law, and the reality of these Government controls is as evident now as in the first several years of firm implementation of the new system. It is essential to an understanding of the possible future of African education to examine, briefly, the chief instruments of control which have been enacted and continue to exist in force.

1. Ministerial Control

The Bantu Education Act of 1953, together with Amendments in 1956 and 1959, gave the Minister of Bantu Education wide powers over all types of schools for Africans: private as well as state run and state aided. He is empowered to delegate many of his responsibilities to the Secretary of Bantu Education (the chief civil servant), which means, in South African parlance, that the Minister need not report to Parliament on matters delegated downward.

Among the most significant powers which the Minister possesses are the discretionary power to register, refuse registration, or de-register private schools; to withhold from any school, or school system, funds which have been voted by Parliament; to veto nominations to all school boards; and to withhold appointments, payment of salary, or salary increases to individual teachers. (See below)

In most of these powers the Minister is supreme; he need give no reason for exercising them, and is not legally challengeable by either the courst or Parliament. Few Governments in the world permit a cabinet official such wide discretion.

2. Control of Territorial Authorities

The policy of separate development provides for a gradual delegation of many kinds of responsibility from the South African Government to the several territorial assemblies or native authorities: Education is one of such responsibility. In a few cases, notably in the Transkei, local African authorities have been granted certain responsibilities for education, especially since 1963, when the Transkei was granted self-government.

Where responsibility for education has been so delegated, however, the Minister and the Department of Bantu Education (in conjunction with the Ministry of Bantu Affairs) have retained wide powers of review. The Department's Inspectorate of Schools continues to inspect schools, supervise examinations, evaluate teachers, and assess whether the syllabus is followed.

Negative reports may (and often do) result in the use of Ministerial powers: teacher's salaries may be withdrawn; students

may be expelled; or undesirable members of school boards may be dismissed. And, since there are parallel controls by the Minister of Bantu Affairs over the appointment of chiefs, the nomination of members to the assemblies, the provision of funds and approval of budgets, and other areas outside education, the weight of the territorial authority tends to militate in favor of compliance with the provisions of Bantu Education.

3. Teacher Certification, Appointments, Pay

With few exceptions, the Ministry of Bantu Education controls the training of African teachers, normally at the training institutions administered by the Department. Only those teachers certified by the Department may teach in African schools: There have been numerous cases where Black South Africans educated in neighboring country of Lesotho were refused certification. Pay increases for African teachers are not automatic or across-the-board. Rather, the Minister must approve both the pay scales and also all actions on individual teachers. He may withhold the salary of any teacher, with no stated reason, and there is no appeal provided under South African law. Again there are celebrated cases, in the past 10 years, where teachers (who may have made critical speeches, failed to comply with the Bantu syllabus, or attended political meetings) have been placed in a no-pay status, and the courts have ruled that they have no power of review in such cases. When such actions have occurred, the teacher is unable to teach in any other school in the Republic, and must therefore either leave the teaching profession or flee the country.

4. Student Admissions and Expulsions

The Minister's control extends to student admissions, behavior, and expulsions, although it is most often exercised at the secondary school and higher education level. Perhaps the most vivid illustration of the actuality and intent of this power is the below-quoted selection from the regulations governing the University College of Fort Hare:

I: 4 (i) Each application for admission must be accompanied by a testimonial of good conduct by a minister of religion, Bantu Affairs Commissioner or Magistrate of the district in which the applicant resides.

II: 8 If in the opinion of the Minister, it is not in the interests of the institution to register a candidate who reports for registration, he may refuse to allow such a candidate to be registered; even if such candidate complies with all the other conditions of registration.

III: 3 Resident students may not leave the College precincts without permission from the Hostel Superintendent or a representative duly authorized by the Rector (who is, of course, appointed by the Minister. Author's comment.)

6 A student may not admit a visitor to a hostel without permission from the Hostel Superintendent.

7 Any student organization or student activity is subject to prior approval of the Rector.

8 No meetings may be held on the grounds of the College without permission from the Rector...

10 No magazine, publication, or pamphlet for which students are fully or partly responsible may be circulated without permission of the Rector after consultation with the Advisory Senate (African) and the Senate (White).

11 No statement for the press may be given by or on behalf of the students without the Rector's permission.

20 No student or group of students, and no person or persons not under jurisdiction of the University

> College, may be upon the College grounds as visitors, or visit any hostel or any other building of the institution, without the permission of the Rector or his duly authorized representative, and then only on such conditions as may be determined.

Conclusion and Interpretation

The initial imposition of Bantu Education on a reluctant African population, together with the development and continuance of stringent controls by a nearly omnipotent Minister of Bantu Education, would seem to demonstrate beyond challenge that the South African Government regards the new system as vital to its strategic plan for racial control. When Bantu Education is viewed as only one sector of a much wider system of planned development and rigorously centralized control of the African people, it would seem to be a logical instrument to assist in maintaining White Power over the political process, the economy, and the patterns of residence of the country. While many educational theorists may question whether education can redirect the minds of youth so effectively within a broader plan, it is clear that the South African Government is leaving nothing to chance; it assumes that controlled education is an essential instrument.

The long-range question is whether the Government is sincere in its professed objective of gradually delegating to Africans some measure of control over their own destinies. As has been noted in the first part of this paper, the intricate involvement of African labor in the White economy, together with the hopeless inadequacy of the African homelands as bases of material and social development of the African people, would seem to belie

the Government's statements. A completely dispassionate assessment of Government intentions in the area of education must grant that even the 18 years that have elapsed since Bantu Education was introduced is too little time to prove the sincerity or hypocracy of Government intentions. Yet the stringency and totality of Government control over teachers, students, budgets, school registration, and boards, which has been maintained without diminution, argues that the Government is in no hurry to relinquish its firm grip on African education.

This writer concludes that the Government will continue its control over Bantu Education indefinitely. However, it will continue to involve African territorial authorities and parents more directly to the extent that it feels this to be prudent and safe, so long as this involvement does not threaten the broader Government concern that young Africans be educated in such a way that they understand and apparently accept their subordinate position in South Africa. The controls over students at Fort Hare indicate the deep concern felt by the Government that African university students will become politicized unless they are tightly controlled It apparently believes, and hopes, that isolation from influences of politicization will produce students whose aspirations are vocational, personal, and limited to roles within African society, accepting without question the inevitability of permanent exclusion from the areas of South African life reserved for Whites. This hope may, in the short run, be justified; it is consistent with behaviorist principles of positive reinforcement of desired responses, and immediate negative reinforcement of undesired

responses. In the longer run, however, the many forces at work within and without African society will almost certainly prove more effective in determining the behavior of educated Africans. These forces are almost without exception antithetical to the Government's present definition of the African position within the broader South African society.

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